792 person not intended to become a monk or nun.
874 Recruits for the priesthood (geydun) are obtained from the laity (skiao); they may be of any age and of any caste. Among Lámás caste is not considered.

797 Sometimes the child of well-to-do parents is made a Láma, and
565 sometimes a fully grown man, who is in easy circumstances, becomes a Lama, but in the large majority of cases, the children brought up as Lámás, are the children of indigent parents, or orphans, or the fourth, or younger, sons, who, according to the Buddhist entail and marriage laws, have no option of sharing their eldest brother's wife and home, and so are obliged, either to
588 become Lámás, or fight their own way in the world. Among
797 the red cap sect, it is not uncommon for the Lámás to form illicit
795 connections with the nuns, and any children born are brought up
848 as monks or nuns. It may be notorious that certain monks and nuns are leading unchaste lives, and so long as nothing occurs to compel the monastery authorities to notice the fact, they shut their eyes to what is going on, but if a scandal arises, or if a nun gives birth to a child, the offending monk and nun are called to account and punished, not by expulsion from their order, but by being compelled to leave the monastery building, and go and look after monastery lands at some out-lying village. As a matter of fact, even this slight punishment is not always inflicted, and nuns, the mother of several illegitimate children may be found living at a monastery.

688 Among the yellow caps, the morality and discipline is much stricter,
797 scandals are very rare, and any nun found to be "enceinte" is
795 instantly, along with her paramour, dismissed from the monastery.

792 When a layman (skiáo), whether child or man, comes to a monastery with a view to entering the priesthood, the following is the procedure observed.

The "Skiáo" is taken into the presence of the "Hlóbon" or abbot, who first cuts a small lock of hair from the crown of the Skiao's head, and hangs it up in the monastery as "sra-put" or "hair initiatory present." Any "first fruit" offering is termed "put."

The next thing is to shave the "Skiáo's" head, pig-tail included, after which the "Skiáo" must give one zho (equal to 24 jows, or about Rs. 4-12-0) to the Hlóbon. Having done this, he becomes a "Tsunchhung" or "Geytshul" or "neophyte," and is given a "chhosming" or religious name, and sometimes the ceremony of christening (called "throos tang ches), by sprinkling with holy

SIN--rdikpa. The inexpiable sins are the murder of a father, a mother, or an "arhat" or one who is about to attain "nirvána." Other chief sins are murder, lying, theft, fornication, and drunkenness. 688

SIR--In Tibetan there is no word for "Sir;" it is not required, as the language of "respect" is almost a language in [147] itself. The word "joo" or "jooley" added to a sentence is a term of respect, thus a servant saying "yes, Sir" would say "kasa joo." The word "Sahib" is pretty will [sic] understood near Leh. 195 576

SLATE--hiámángs. This word means "slate," but as "slate" is the only kind of slab stone known to Ladákis, all slab stones are termed "slate." Samthra (or samtha) is the name of the wooden boards used like school-slates. Dust is scattered on them, and on this the children write. 135 872

SLAVERY--GHóyálches. In former days there used to be three classes of slaves in Ladák. One class consisted of Tartars from the high Chángtháng plain, which stretches from the eastern frontier of Ladák to the vicinity of the Mánásarwar Lake, who had in their childhood been sold by their parents to people of Ladák. Those were termed "GHóyál" and were slaves in the ordinary sense of the word. About 1873, Mr. Johnson, who was then Wazeer of Ladák, ordered all these slaves to be set at liberty, and he prohibited the further traffic in Tartar children. Of the slaves then set free, a few elected to remain in Ladák, but the large majority returned to their own country. Another class of slaves consisted of the illegitimate children of Dógra or Kashmiri sepoys, etc., by women of Ladák. These were termed "GHulámzádah" and were State slaves; they were supported by the Kashmir State, and had to work without receiving any pay. They were not permitted to leave the country. About 1868, an attempt was made to convert them into agriculturists, but owing to their want of skill and capital, the attempt failed. In 1871, Mr. Drew, who was then Wazeer, obtained the Maharaja's permission to set them free. They have long since been absorbed into the general population of the country. The third class consisted of State debtors, or their descendants. These debtors were fraudulent debtors having made away with, or 567 [848] 687 567 426

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4



Chapter III, B. Social and Religious Life.

Custom of inheritance in Spiti.

valley this right does not appear to be so clearly established: the objections of near kinsmen are sometimes attended to, or a field or two given to them by way of compromise. Kinsmen, however, are of course very few, as the only way in which a younger brother can found a separate family is by becoming son-in-law and adopted son to another landholder. Such a man might claim on behalf of his younger son, but not on his own behalf or that of his eldest son, as it is a rule that for each holding or allotment there must be a separate resident head of the house to do service for it, as well as pay the revenue. Sometimes an illegitimate descendant of the family, who has been living on the estate as a *yáng champa*, will claim as a kinsmen and succeed, but he cannot be said to have any absolute right or title. Unmarried daughters of a landholder are entitled to maintenance from their father, brother, or nephew, that is from the head of the family for the time being; he must either let them live in his house on equal terms with his own family, or must give them a separate house and plot of land; they forfeit their claim if they go away to live in any other man's house, but no other act of theirs will entitle their father or his successor to cast them off, or resume the house and plot of land once given during their life-time. Many women live and die as spinsters in their father's or brother's houses: their chance of marriage is small, as all younger sons become monks, and the monks are bound to celibacy (except in Pín *kothí*), and bigamy is only allowed in the case of the head of a family who has no son or expectation of getting one by the wife he first marries. In case the brother-in-law of a widow does not come out of the monastery to take his deceased brother's place, or in case there are no brothers-in-law, the widow can marry again, and does not forfeit her interest in the estate by so doing so long as she continues to reside on it: on the contrary, in default of issue by the first husband, the children by the second will succeed to the estate. She can marry any person of the same class as herself: if there happens to be a near kinsman available, she would be expected to select him, but whether it would be absolutely obligatory on her to do so is not quite clear. A marriage feast is given to celebrate the event.

Customs and ceremonies connected with births, marriages, funerals, &c.

The best general account of the social customs of the Botiás[1] will be found in General Cunningham's *Ladákh*; but in the country now under discussion, and especially in Láhaul, the practice of the present day be found to differ in some details. The religious ceremony consists in almost all cases in the simple reading of prayers or passages from the holy books by a *lámá*, while the whole company of men and women sit round with clasped hands and down-cast eyes, and repeat the verses after the *lámá*. The social celebration of all these events consists mainly of feasts in which much *cháng* is drunk. In Láhaul the decisive point in the negotiation for a betrothal is the acceptance or refusal of a pot of *cháng* sent to the father of the bride: if he drinks, the affair is settled without more words. In Láhaul, polyandry, or the taking to wife of one woman by several brothers, is a recognized institution, and is very general; the object is to prevent the division of estates. Mr. Lyall remembers a case which came before him in which one of two brothers living in polyandry much wished to separately marry a girl by whom he had had an illegitimate

[1] [i.e, Tibetans. See Source #1: Cunningham, West Tibetans File. -- Analyst]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4





The following statement will show the distribution of property among different castes in Láhaul, as it stood at the revision of settlement:—

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Caste. | Number of families. | Number of holdings or separate lots. | Number of shareholders. | Arable lands and hay fields. | Revenue demand. |
| Bráhmans ... ... | 29 | 70 | 131 | 206 | 154 |
| Thákurs, including Dotoons ... | 29 | 50 | 75 | 404 | 303 |
| Kanets and Tibetans ... | 470 | 799 | 1,367 | 3,304 | 2,441 |
| Dágis and other low castes ... | 43 | 106 | 145 | 125 | 94 |
| Lands attached to temples or institutions ... ... | ... | 62 | 62 | 151 | 64 |

Of the *jeolas* or household allotments, which are described under the head of tenures, there are about 530, which are all held by men of the first three castes.

Intercourse between castes in Láhaul.

The word used in Láhaul for *got* or clan, or rather for the corresponding idea, is *rus*, which means bone, and, as applied to a class, denotes those descended from a common ancestor. But there is as much license in Láhaul as in Kúlu with regard to intermarriage. The Thákurs take Kanet women as *srájat*, not as *lahri*; and though the sons of such women are not at first considered as pure Thákurs, yet in a few generations they become equal. These women are known as *chunma* or workers. Bráhmans also have Kanet women in their houses; and the sons of such women succeed as if legitimate. Their fathers will not eat from their hands; but they will smoke with them. They are known as *guru*, and marry Kanets, or women of mixed caste if they can find any. There are many *gurus* in Láhaul, but they call themselves Bráhmans. Where the father is not known, or where there is any doubt, illegitimate children follow the caste of their mothers. Bráhmans, Thákurs and Kanets will smoke together in Láhaul; and Bráhmans will drink water, tea or *lugri* from the hands of a Kanet, but will not even eat *sachi roti*. The Kanets say they will not smoke with a Dágí (*sepi*). No Kanéts wear the *janeo* in Láhaul. Thákurs will eat *pakki* or *sachi roti* from the hands of a Kanet; but not *kachi roti*, except those Thákurs who do not wear the *janeo*. It is said that Lohárs, Hensís, and Berárás intermarry and eat together. A Dágí (*sepi*) is considered above a Lohár. He will not eat with him, nor give him his daughter in marriage; but he will take a Lohár woman to wife. A Dágí and a Lohár will smoke together from the same pipe.

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within him, certainly caused by jealousy of his other brothers for their relations with the common wife.

There are certain instances of extra-marital relations between people in this polyandrous community, but they are highly condemned and heavy sanctions are applied. In a *bagma* marriage, if the woman commits adultery, she is turned out of the house if she is childless, and the brothers choose another wife. If she is with child, she is fined and has to pay out of her personal property. As for the man, the co-respondent, he is beaten and/or has to pay compensation to the legal husbands. In a *magpa* marriage, where the woman is heir to the property, has the care of it and can marry as many men as she desires, infidelity of the wife is the only case in which the husbands can get a divorce. Otherwise, she can divorce them, but not *vice versa*. If the man is the adulterer in such a marriage, nothing is done except in the family where he has committed the adultery. In the case of unmarried people, the woman is usually turned out of the house if she has premarital relations and should attempt to marry the man with whom she has had these relations. If the trespasser is a man, he is treated exactly like an adulterer in the usual *bagma* marriage.

Illegitimate children are usually hushed up. They are often adopted into some family or are sent to the monasteries as novices, so that nobody knows exactly what their origins are. As far as I could find out, there seems to be no prostitution in Tibet, and husbands suffering from the polyandrous organization do not have that outlet. Something, however, certainly is known about prostitution, for Tibetans, who never smoke, tell you that they do not do so because tobacco was a plant grown with the menstrual flow of a prostitute.

As far as I could find out, homo-sexuality is condemned, even in the monasteries, and certainly despised if practised, and I could not find any proof of it. But local Europeans who know the

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on the other hand, the divorce occurs at the request of the *bag-ma* wife or of the *mag-pa* husband, the equivalent in money of a horse will be given to the injured party. This is called *P'ho-skyur-ta* (*P'ho-bSkyur-rTa*) or "man thrown out horse". During the reign of the Tibetan kings of Western Tibet, real horses and cows were handed over. But with the accession of the Dogra masters, Wazir-i-Wazarat Akbar Ali Shah, who ruled in Ladak in the early 1870s, converted the value of these animals into cash, a horse being estimated as worth Rs. 25, and a cow Rs. 12/8/–. Henceforward, compensation had to be paid in money and no longer in kind.

Extra-marital relations do occur in Ladak among polyandrous people, but on the whole all my informants, including the Reverend W. Asboe, were very insistant that those who practised polyandry were more "moral" than the others who did not. They meant by this, that the pressure of public opinion upon remaining faithful to the custom and not departing from what was expected of those living matrimonially in this fashion was very great and, usually, very effective in enforcing the rule.

In spite of this, it could not be said that departures from this moral rule did not occur. Lamas who had taken vows of celibacy, such as the Gelug-pas for instance, were known occasionally to get involved in illicit love affairs. A woman who was thus a partner to the strayings of a lama was known as a *la-dud* (*bLa-aDrud*), "dragger away of lama".

Unmarried girls who took lovers might be forced to marry them, if the man was unmarried. If he was already wed, he might have to divorce and marry the girl, or simply give her the necessary means of livelihood. Should she have a child by him, she would be turned out of her family's house and beaten, and the man would, in most instances, be obliged to marry her. The only exception could occur if he should already be married and have children, when he would have to arrange for the upkeep of his paramour and her child. As it was, this did not happen very often, all young girls normally being chaperoned when they attended public festivals. It was here that lovers met, it was admitted, but it would be difficult for an unmarried daughter, properly accompanied, to start an intrigue in this way.

Women living in polyandry did have lovers, I was told, because they did not always feel the affection which they should have for their many husbands. A *bag-ma* wife caught in the act would be beaten, driven out of the house and divorced, if she was not yet a mother. If she had children, she would not be driven away, but her paramour would be

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837 beaten and obliged to pay compensation to the outraged husbands.
684 Sometimes, I heard, the lover, assisted by friends, resisted and a fight ensued, in which the husbands' party might also be reinforced by friends and relatives. In the end a third party would be brought in to arbitrate and fix the amount of compensation due, if adultery was satisfactorily proved.

839 In the case of a *mag-pa* wife, or a *mag-pa* husband, I have already mentioned above, in what I wrote on divorce proceedings, what the correct behaviour is in cases of the partners' infidelity.

As a rule, immorality is something that attempts are made to conceal, and scandals do not occur often because everyone always tries to hush them up. One of the chief difficulties that has to be faced, if such a case becomes known and has to be dealt with in the glare of public knowledge, is the problem of property. A guilty couple will have none [735] to live on and, unless they can collect sufficient means to buy themselves at least a land tenancy, they will become beggars and be forced to live on grudging public charity.

848 The fate of illegitimate children is also a sad one. In most cases,
851 hushing up the affair consists in considering a child born of an adulterous union as one of the family. Abortions are nevertheless often
849 resorted to, and in the case of unmarried girls frequently practised. In Leh, Moslem barbers are those who perform these operations. Unwanted children begotten in this way are often done away with, too, by the mother simply giving birth to the child near the river, and throwing
[792] it into the water to drown. This is often the case with nuns in monasteries, who should be chaste in accordance with their vows. Most il-
848 legitimate children who live to be adult, become lamas or nuns. The
792 principal reason for this is again that they have no property and cannot
736 marry. In this way, they can live off the resources of the monastery.

5. *Dissolution of marriage by death*

595 If the eldest husband of a woman dies, the widow is automatically the
736 official wife of the surviving eldest brother of the deceased, by inheri-
768 tance. No marriage ceremony need be performed. If the woman does not like to live with this man and his younger brothers as she did during the lifetime of the eldest, but at the same time, does not like to leave the family household or to take yet another husband different from those she has had so far, or, again, if the surviving eldest brother does not wish to keep her as his wife, she is entitled in all these cases, to maintenance by the family. This takes the form of a piece of land